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585 members of the groom's party sat down on chairs on the right wing of the *maq'ad*. The rest of the *maq'ad* was occupied mostly by women and children from the bride's village. The bride was soon hustled off behind the cabinets, and she did not reappear for about half an hour, at which time the ceremony began.

After some shifting around, the central section of the *maq'ad* was occupied by, among others, the best man (*sbbiin*), the groom, the Muṭrāṭ priest, and the elderly priest of the other village, who is now largely inactive except for special occasions.

The waiting people seemed to divide themselves into three groups. One was gathered around the bride, the second at the *maq'ad*, the third (rather formless) moved in and out from the porch and stood around talking in the part of the house near the entrance. Occasional shots and fire-crackes were heard from outside.

535 The *darbakky* was passed around from hand to hand several times, and perhaps six women did solo dances in the center of the *maq'ad*. A handkerchief in each hand, the woman either holds them aloft, twirling them, or waves them together as she dances. In most cases, there was little body motion, and the step simply carried the woman around in slow circles, but in one case—a woman who had to be persuaded to dance—some movement of the pelvis was apparent. Usually, the faces of the performers were rather expressionless, and the women, mostly young, but one or two middle-aged, seemed to be dancing merely as an expected part of the proceedings.

533 While this was going on, there were repeated cries, especially by older women, to the group in general, of *ii-yay il-'ariis wal-'aruus*, followed by a shrill and very rapid "lu-lu-lu-lu-lu," with hand held to mouth. A third type of cry arose repeatedly from groups of men. They would sing some praise of the bride and groom and end it with a long-held high note, hands nised high, one finger pointing upwards. This was done at the greeting outside the house.

The solo dances did not follow immediately upon one another, and the intervals were marked by little or no activity in the *maq'ad*, people either sitting quietly or talking with each other, some changing places, others coming in. One 574 feature in general of social gatherings is sitting rather quietly in a circle—no pressure, apparently, to babble if one does not feel like it. Small glasses of *'araq* and wine, with small candies and sugared almonds, were passed around at one point.

Finally, a round wooden table was placed in the center of the *maq'ad*, and a white cloth was put over it. The two priests stood at one side together, with a lay assistant (a nephew of the bride although her contemporary in age). The bride, dressed in white with veil, was escorted to the table, her arm held by her *sbbiini* (maid of honor). Her eyes were downcast, her arms folded across her stomach, and she stood in this pose throughout the entire ceremony. The groom stood beside her, and the *sbbiin* was to his right—bride and groom flanked by *sbbiin* and

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[535] after about ten minutes, and about ten minutes more elapsed until the bride, still in bridal dress, and her party got into their car. They led the procession to Munşif.

In Munşif there was a large group observing the proceedings outside the groom's father's house. Upon arrival, the bride, standing on a chair in the door, slapped a piece of raw dough on the lintel above the door, molded it into a round bun shape, and made a cross on it with the heel of her hand. While still standing on the chair, she was provided with oranges which she threw at the people standing around. Then she walked inside. Two automobiles filled with relatives came with her from her village, and they included spouses of siblings who were strange to both villages. The bride, the groom, and his father stood in the *maq'ad* to receive congratulations.

Again, with the principals in the center, people sat themselves down in the *maq'ad*. *'Araq* and wine were offered around. A large crowd of children gathered at each door to watch—staring silently.

[535] The same dance performance as at the ceremony was carried out. However, the soloists included young men as well as women this time. After some solos, five persons, mostly of middle age, locked arms and danced a set of the *dabki*, the principal folk dance of Lebanon; and during the evening it was done several times more.

The bride disappeared for a long period, during which two large tables were brought in and placed parallel to each other in the upper and lower parts of the *maq'ad*. They were set with plates and glasses and bottles of *'araq*. *Tabbouleh*, cold *kibbi*, beans and bread were served.

When the bride reappeared, after changing into an ordinary dress, she took her place at the main table. The groom's sisters were active all the time bringing in food and collecting dishes. A large number of persons sat, neither eating nor taking

[853] active part—just watching. These included the children. At one point, a woman sitting near the cabinets opened the front of her dress and began nursing a small baby. Later, another woman did the same with one of her small ones, sitting in the same place.

[533] The activity at the head table was enlivened by songs in praise of the bridal couple sung either by men standing behind the chairs or by others sitting down. At the end of each, arms would be raised and the high musical note, mentioned before, sung in unison. One man after another seemed to pick up the solo part rather casually after the previous phrase was finished. Some were well-known and conventional. In others, there would be laughter or nods, as if the singer had made up a clever verse impromptu, or said something with an apt and original turn of phrase. These songs of praise (*madaha*) were usually phrased in terms such as those which likened the bridal couple to the stars or the light of the sun. Many seemed to be known by heart by everyone, just as everyone seemed to know the dance steps.

The bride no longer wept, and for a long time, she sat next to her father-in-law, who sat in a corner, conversing quietly with him.

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ment by most of the middle-aged people and with unfeigned derision by many, though not all, younger people. One middle-aged woman said that of course everyone knew how to do the *dabki*, and that "it is done sometimes, and at weddings." "But," she said, "it is better when everyone does it dressed in *shirwal* and *aqal* and *kaffiyyah*." The only interpretation which the writer can give to this remark is that the *dabki* is associated with the old days which are no more. There is some evidence that the dance is done far less now in general than it used to be. An acquaintance of the writer's in Beirut, an American of Lebanese ancestry, said that for two years he had looked around unsuccessfully for a performance of it in Beirut. On at least one occasion his inquiries were met with the resentful remark: "Oh, the *dabki* is just for peasants in the mountains."

For the most part, the adolescent and young adult Mamjukin seem to be committed to the rejection of the more obvious concomitants of their peasant background, and their de-emphasis on the *dabki* is probably an aspect of this. Rather than the *dabki*, it is the samba, rumba, and tango which please the young people most. In this respect, Mamjuk is by no means an isolated case. Spanish and South American rhythms are immensely popular among the Lebanese. That well-known tune, "La Comparsita," was a popular classic in Lebanon in 1943, and it remains so today. The appeal appears to be more rhythmical than melodic, and of course Spanish music has for a long time been influenced by Arab modes.

The social gatherings in the club are, in sum, featured by the playing mostly of Spanish and South American dances and songs on the phonograph. In traditional Arab culture there is no "concert" music. Music is either to be danced to or it is merely background for a poetic recitation. The sexual function is maintained today by the traditional forms, but the first has been expanded and taken over by Western forms. Dancing to Western music involves close physical contact between the sexes, and this is very much at variance with traditional norms. One older man, in fact, said, "All this touching is not good for the young people." In general, Western free social intercourse between the sexes has been a difficult kind of behavior for young people of the Middle East to adjust themselves to. To many of them it suggests an invitation to free sexual intercourse, an understandable misinterpretation which has led to much pain and embarrassment, for example, among students in the city.

THE HOME

Hospitality is a virtue which the Arabs value very highly, in part because it implies generosity, another trait which is explicitly valued. At whatever time a guest may arrive at a house, a cup of coffee is made specially for him; and if the occasion requires it, he is invited to dine and even to spend the night. All this is, as often as not, done without any prior notice at all.

The principle of hospitality applies among the villagers in their daily lives, although ordinarily it involves no further effort than making coffee. In the absence

architectural training. Entrance is by a competitive examination based on the second *baccalauréat*. The preparatory year is for students who do not pass the examination or for holders of the first *baccalauréat*. Its program is identical with the *classe de mathématiques* with the addition of drawing and design. In 1945–46 the architectural course consisted of only three years; the fourth year had not yet been started. §73[2]

The course in music is divided into three stages: a first stage of three years, a middle stage of four years, and a final stage of two years consisting largely of repertoire selections. Every student must study at least one instrument. Instruction is given in piano, violin, cello, flute, clarinet, oboe, brass, and voice. All students take courses in theory of solfeggio, theory of music, harmony, counterpoint, composition, and instrumentation. The [533] Academy has a choir composed of some of its men and women students and of girls from the National School. An amateur orchestra is made up of the Academy students, and for major performances some professional musicians are hired. The Academy has given programs in choral and instrumental music, including Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*, Haydn's *The Creation*, Bach's *Christmas Oratorio*, Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, and Handel's *Messiah*, all under the direction of the president of the Academy.

The art section has no definite length of time for study. It gives instruction in painting, water colors, wood engraving, photography, and sculpture, together with theoretical studies in anatomy, shading, and history of art (the last named in conjunction with the School of Architecture).

In 1945–46 the Academy had 43 students in architecture, 130 in music, and 30 in art. It was staffed by about forty-five teachers, most of whom were part time. Fees were £L120 ($54.50) for art students, £L140 ($63.50) for music, and £L440 ($200) for architecture. Gifted poor students are exempted from payment of fees, as are students studying the rare musical instruments such as the oboe. The Lebanese government in 1945–46 granted £L8,000 ($3,636) toward the support of the Academy.

The movement for the foundation of private schools controlled by boards and societies seems to be spreading in Lebanon. For example, the League [575] of Lebanese Women, which is perhaps the foremost association of women in Lebanon, established a progressive kindergarten in Beirut which quickly attained popularity. The Commission, however, was unable to visit it. In the summer of 1946 plans were being laid for the foundation of two boys schools of secondary level in the two well-known Lebanese villages of Suq al-Gharb and Shuwayr on premises formerly occupied by American and Scotch mission schools. The movement was led by graduates of the Amer-

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